Discipline and Punishment

E. VAN NORMAN EMERY

THE PROBLEMS which arise out of the child training situation are extremely bewildering. Parents who conscientiously and intelligently endeavor to function constructively in their relationships with their children feel this most keenly. Naive parents still solve these problems by the magical and single track method of punishment and in their unawareness and simplicity, champion the cause of punishment as the only method of moral suasion.

So we find ardent advocates of *punishment* and equally ardent advocates of *discipline*. In places where parents meet we find the controversy, *discipline versus punishment,* an ever ready topic for argument. Frequently in this controversy, misunderstanding and heat arise because the proponents fail to realize that they are using a different word to describe the same thing, or the same word to describe different things. Folks are much more likely to disagree over the meanings and values of symbols than over the meanings and values of facts.

One meaning of discipline given by the Century Dictionary is "an instrument of punishment; a scourge, or the like, used for religious penance." This clearly indicates the extent to which discipline and punishment may become synonymous. On the other hand, we also find that discipline is derived from the Latin word "disciplina" which signifies "teaching, instruction, training" and is related to the word "disciplinus" which signifies "a learner."

Since the psychological implications in these two meanings of the word *discipline* are completely contradictory, we shall use the latter meaning of the word *discipline,* and honestly use the word punishment when we mean punishment. When we search about to orient ourselves further, we shall find our chosen meaning of discipline associated with such words as pupil, follower, fellow-student—the disciplinarian as engaged in teaching, training, guiding, leading and persuading. And we shall find punishment associated with such words as inflict pain, strike, torture. The punished suffers, feels guilty or "fear possesses the sinner's mind." The punisher "sits in judgment on the offender," tries to bring about penitence or retaliates by forcing the condemned to pay a penalty if his offense and guilt are to be wiped out by punishment.

The child's impulses to act are many and complex. They are often directly contradictory one to the other. It is essential that the child learn by one means or another to bring these impulses to their fullest and most constructive development. To achieve this, the impulses must develop with a degree of harmony with respect to each other that will make for relative subjective comfort, and mutually limit their outward expression to a point that is reasonably within those bounds which society demands. It is because of the need to limit and give direction to the impulses of the child that we must concern ourselves about the many psychological problems that are involved. If it were possible for the child, unaided, to achieve his fullest development and to give constructive direction to his own impulses, we would not need to concern ourselves with either discipline or punishment.

Perhaps the most frequently heard justification for using punishment is that "it works." Apparently it does work, but how? The punishing parent takes unto himself authority, he sits in judgment, he is more powerful than the child, in this role he is above and apart from the child. He is sure of his own rightness and the child's wrongness.* For "the good of the child" and the gratification of his self-love, he dramatizes himself in the role of authority and becomes the agent that inflicts pain (physical or psychical) which aims to cause the child to choose to inhibit his impulses rather than to suffer the pain and fear which the punishment involves. On the surface this appears to work. Pain and fear are excel-

*Of course we all know that so high a level of abstract justice does not always prevail. Parents are prone to take out on the child their irritabilities and tensions which they have accumulated at the hands of the other parent. This is especially apt to be the case when the child's behavior reminds them of some trait which is hated in the other parent.

lent inhibitors, but many times the cure is worse than the disease, because of the less apparent but serious consequences which almost invariably follow. The fear of the punishment and the hatred of the pain soon become shifted from the punishment, and from the misdeed or impulse, onto the punishing parent. Once the fear or hatred is directed onto the parent, other consequences follow.

In any case parent and child are psychologically set against each other. A competitive situation has arisen. The child may feel that he has paid the penalty for his behavior and for this reason the scores are even. He may feel that he has been misunderstood and arbitrarily abused, and with self-pity use the punishment as justification to himself for retaliating against the parent either by engaging in the same mischief or some other. At any rate hate has been added to the parent-child relationship. Parents seldom realize that when a child "acts hateful," he hates. The child has succeeded in externalizing what should be his own problem of self-control by shifting it so that it has become a conflict between himself and his parent; the child aligns himself on the side of the impulse and against the parent upon whom he places the responsibility for controlling his behavior. Punishment has liberated him; he is now free to do as he chooses because he has paid the penalty and his hate justifies everything. He can now find self-justification for any form of antagonism.

Twin Emotions

Following an episode of punishment, fear and hate are both present. The relationship between hate and fear is much closer than is generally recognized. It is difficult to conceive of a person hating anyone that he does not fear. If fear is predominant in the child, his retaliation will be less open. It is more likely to take the form of "putting it over" the parent. Though this is perhaps the most frequent result of punishment, the parent is happy because "the punishment has worked," the child has learned his lesson well—but disrespect for authority is the consequence. When fear is still more predominant we find a cringing, crushed child, sometimes completely blocked, paralyzed, inhibited —considered "good" but useless to himself and to society.

There are other aspects of the psychology of punishment that are much more subtle and interesting. Built into each one of us and thoroughly permeating society's attitudes, is the superstition that in some magical manner punishment can wipe out a misdemeanor or guilt. Our laws and law-enforcing machinery are based on a philosophy dominated by this superstition. Many of our religious teachings are based on future rewards or punishments—a giving and a receiving like for like. On the face of it, this all seems very equitable and plausible until we realize that everyone expects to get more than his just deserts in business, in law and in heaven.

The law of retaliation as laid down in the Book of Leviticus, (XXIV, 19, 20) tells us:

"And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbor as he has done, so shall it be done to him; breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again."

Unfortunately most of the external results of undesirable behavior are not modified by retaliation and punishment. Spanking neither mends the broken window nor makes up the time lost by tardiness. In the Book of Job (V. 17, 18) we find:

"Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth: therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty: For he maketh sore, and bindeth up: he woundeth, and his hands make whole."

Why does punishment appear to wipe out the misdemeanor and the guilt? When a man, or child, has offended against another, the offended one is angered. His anger can ordinarily disappear either by forgetfulness or when things are "made right"; when he is avenged; when he has retaliated. He is satisfied when the offence has been wiped out by punishment (like for like or worse than like for like). The offender is soon made aware that he has offended, and is anxious or fearful because of the uncertainty which the anger of the offended and the fear of retaliation hold for him. Punishment brings pain but it also brings relief from his uncertainty and anxiety (relieves his conscience), and so for him punishment wipes out feelings of guilt* because the penalty has been paid and the anger of the offended has been appeased. Even pain may be more acceptable than uncertainty and anxiety. In the end both are at peace. Punishment has wiped out the offense and the guilt. Each has worked out his own emotional problem alone and without regard or understanding of the problems of the other.

Unfortunately most episodes do not end here. The more vigorous offenders will re-digest the episode in such a way as to justify themselves, and permit hate to come to the fore in place of the fear which had previously been dominant. Fear is disturbing to one's self-regard, while hate bristles pleasurably with self-regard. Because the punishment has taken place, and by means of this re-alignment of emotions, the individual is able to re-place feelings which were subjectively painful and paralyzing to his self-regard, with feelings which prompt to positive actions† in

*Anxiety because of the uncertainty which the anger of the offended holds for the offender and his fear of retaliation are probably the simplest psychological elements out of which feelings of guilt can arise. To these are generally added an anxiety lest the love of the parent may be lost. Later in the psychological development of the individual, guilt feelings are somewhat more complex since in a sense the offence is committed against one's own standards.

†Hate and anger are energy givers as it were. Both parents and children have a strength and courage when angered that are absent at other times. We see parents who must "work themselves up" to anger before they feel capable of dealing with an obstreperous child.

line with his self-love. We can see that punishment, even with its pain, can be used by the individual as a means of re-adjusting his feelings so that subjectively they may be more bearable than the previous uncertainty, anxiety, guilt and fear.

In children who are frequently punished, these sequences may become quite absurd in their manifestations. Not long ago we saw a little lad who would deliberately do some forbidden thing and then ask to be punished. In psychiatric practice we see adults who try to punish themselves in some way, or who engage in some punishable act in order to receive punishment, because experience has taught them that this is the only way they can secure relief from the feelings of anxiety and guilt which beset them. They act as though they were compelled to seek punishment. There are few individuals who are entirely free of this superstition with respect to punishment. We say "I guess it serves me right," when things go wrong after we have done something of which we are not proud.

Two of the principal differences between discipline and punishment are: first, that discipline must of necessity be associated with a relationship in which love is in the ascendency, while the drive for power with its fears and hates predominates when punishment arises from the relationship; second, punishment presupposes that coercion, force or pain is needed to cause the child to behave in a socially acceptable manner because, in his innate perversity, good behavior can only be produced against the child's will. It emphasizes all that is destructive in the child's impulses, while on the other hand discipline presupposes that the child will be led to engage in desirable behavior because he wishes to do so of his own accord, and out of love and admiration for his parents. (*Continued on page 20*)

Discipline for Babies

Training in wholesome habits that shall reduce to a minimum the necessity for correction.

JESSIE C. FENTON

DISCIPLINE is a word that has become entangled with such a variety of meanings that it is now annoyingly ambiguous. I often think that we should do much better, in our discussions of child care, to discard it completely and start afresh with a new term. Especially in discussing infancy, the word *training* is much to be preferred.

Probably the implication of the word *discipline* that first comes to the minds of most people is that of punishment or, at least, of thwarting—of being taught, more or less under compulsion, *not* to do a variety of things. Perhaps this is because the modern civilized human being does need to acquire such an appalling number and variety of inhibitions. Grown people are very likely to forget the long course of training by means of which they have overlaid their own instinctive and impulsive tendencies with the types of behavior sanctioned by the social *mores* of their time and their particular social stratum. Consider, for instance, the single matter of eating. How long it takes and with what difficulty to himself, and what an infinity of exasperation to his parents does the child learn to handle eating utensils in approved ways, to use a napkin adequately, to chew and swallow with the required minimum of sound and gesture. The entire process, long and arduous as it is, is artificial. The natural mode of eating certainly includes among others such socially forbidden items as the lively pursuit of food with the fingers, liberal use of the tongue as an apprehending as well as a cleansing instrument, and a considerable amount of lip smacking and other mouth sounds as expressions of pleasure as well as mere adjuncts to the motions of chewing.

It has always seemed to me that the human is greatly to be commiserated for having before him the necessity to learn not only so many positive things—so much information he needs, so many habits he must acquire—but also so many negative things—so many impulses that must be inhibited, so many tendencies that must be changed.

What can we do about it to simplify his burden, to relieve him of all the years of *don'ts* that stretch so bleakly ahead of him? The first thing, it seems to me, is to realize sympathetically his problem. Most parents and teachers are keenly alive (naturally enough) to the exasperations occasioned to them by the necessity for building up in the child all these inhibitions; it is not, however, so easy to realize all of the stress and conflict which this long learning process may bring to the child. Inspired by this attitude of sympathy, parents and teachers

Dr. Fenton has stated the case for schedules and routines in accordance with the best known practice. In a future issue of CHILD STUDY, *the question of adapting and applying these principles to individual cases will be considered, with a sliding scale for routines.*

can do a great deal to emphasize the positive aspects of learning and minimize the negative ones. As a general rule, it's a far more comfortable and effective procedure for everyone concerned to call a child's attention to the act that is at any given moment the desirable thing to do, giving the least possible notice and comment to whatsoever other activity he may be manifesting that happens not to be acceptable.

In the case of the young baby, discipline resolves itself quite completely into terms of habit formation and begins at least as early as the child's birth. Of course, we all know nowadays that modification really begins farther back than that, for especially in emotional reactions the child's behavior is going to depend inevitably to considerable degree upon the control and integration of the parental personalities. However, we have not time here to discuss the mental hygiene of the parents, and we shall assume that the parents of the hypothetical child whose discipline we are now considering have achieved all that is humanly possible of emotional adjustment to the events and circumstances of their own lives. The function of the parents then becomes that of helping their baby to acquire as early and pleasantly as possible a large number of wholesome habits.

Wholesome Habits

EATING and sleeping stand out prominently among the earliest ones to be provided for. We are all thoroughly familiar with modern techniques for bringing the instinctive recurrence of hunger into the rhythmic regularity of an habitual feeding schedule. Not only the times of hunger but the likings for specific foods are brought under the control of habit in the life of the well cared for baby of today. The average child of a generation ago was fed when he cried, and given tastes of various foods from the adult table; the modern baby eats on schedule and has no experience of foods other than those on his own prescribed diet list. The result is that the modern baby does not need to receive later on the thwartings and punishments incident to uncontrolled desires, both as to eating time and foods.

The familiar principles involved in training the infant's food habits apply equally well to most of the affairs of his daily life. It is most desirable that eating, sleeping, bathing, dressing, use of the toilet, exercise—all these humble but necessary items of everyday life—be early brought under the orderly regimen of habit. For one thing, these actions then require a minimum of attention and energy, from the child as well as from the parent, and release so much the more of mental energy for the achievement of new and more advanced types of learning. Moreover, the relegation of these matters to habit does away with a host of *don'ts* which would otherwise inevitably enter the child's daily experiences in these activities.

In similar fashion should the child's emotional life be disciplined. When, for instance, the baby of an earlier generation indulged in a tantrum, when he bit and screamed and scratched and perhaps banged his head upon the floor with soul-rending thumps, the interpretation of his conduct was very likely to be that he had inherited from some uncle or grandfather (probably paternal) that relative's notorious bad temper. It was also quite probable that mother, grandmother, auntie, and any and every one else at hand, rushed to appease and soothe him before he should start holding his breath and turn blue. But the modern baby gets no such attention. The heart of the modern mother is no less riven by the anguishing sight of her precious infant thwacking his tender head upon the floor and rending his lungs with shrieking, but she knows that any expressed solicitude on her part will but help to make this painful scene recur, for she has ample opportunity to learn from government publications or from numerous excellent books on child training how to cope scientifically with the situation. She knows that if his tantrum brings satisfaction it will recur, and that if it receives no reward it will fall into disuse. If his exhibition is calmly and persistently ignored, the baby very soon discovers that there is nothing in it for him, and quits. What's the use of having a tantrum if nobody contributes to make a delightfully exciting scene out of it?

For though we may grant that people differ in their innate tendencies toward emotionality, we know that emotional reactions are nevertheless highly subject to training. We are "conditioned," especially by our early experiences, toward liking or disliking, fear or placidity, toward anger and jealousy, or toward good humor and sympathy. The child who is so handled in infancy that he has little opportunity and no encouragement to develop habits of rage, fear and jealousy, and who at the same time is definitely conditioned toward cheerfulness, friendliness, interest and curiosity will be the emotionally controlled adult. His emotions are disciplined, in the primary sense of training, and will consequently not require discipline in the secondary sense of punishment, thwarting and compulsion.

I shall not attempt here to explain the technique of conditioning and habit formation; they have been often and adequately described by several authors. The point that I want at this time particularly to emphasize to parents is the concept of discipline as the sort of training in wholesome habits that shall reduce to a minimum the necessity for correction, for thwarting, for *don'ts*—the sort of discipline which shall keep the attention both of parents and of children on the positive and constructive aspects of learning, eliminating in so far as it is humanly possible the inhibitory and negative aspects.

The Child "Steps Out"

Team work and self-reliance—school can teach no lessons more valuable.

EUGENE RANDOLPH SMITH

He must indeed "step out" if he is to develop from the newborn baby—ignorant not only of the world about him, but also of himself and his powers—into an adult who is master of those powers, as well as intelligently responsive to the demands made upon him by the complicated society in which he lives.

It is difficult for any adult to realize how completely ignorant the baby is. He is set down in a foreign country of which he does not know the people, the language or in fact anything at all. He cannot at first even differentiate between what is himself and what is not himself. His only response is to certain physical demands. Those responsible for his care, usually his parents, undertake to introduce him to his environment, and to some extent to himself. Yet most of his learning must come from his own activities, his own experimentation, his own groping for the truth. Facts can be furnished him, he can be stimulated by environment, especially by material suitable for his activities, but understanding and mastery of his powers, especially in their relation to externals, can come to him only through his own trials, his failures and successes.

The problem of home and school is to maintain freedom enough to enable the child most easily, and with the fewest conflicts, to develop his own personality, while there is built up in him at the same time a clear understanding of, and response to, those community demands that are justified—that are, in fact, essential.

The very care that parents take of their children increases the problem of the child. He is in a difficult position. He needs the meticulous care of his parents during the long childhood that is peculiar to mankind. Yet, if he does not break away from their too inclusive provision and control—if he does not "step out" for himself—he is likely to be smothered as far as the development of his own personality and his own independence are concerned.

Most of the conflicts between children and authority arise from their need to free themselves from controls that inhibit their growth. There are certain fairly well defined stages through which children in general pass. Different psychologists have defined and named them in various ways. For our discussion some of them have great importance, but a too close definition, either in characteristics or terms, is not necessary.

Every young child is an individualist, an egoist, from the fact that he is conscious only of himself and those things that closely concern him. He is, however, responsive to expressions of pleasure or displeasure in those who care for him, and at a very early age often learns to influence others toward his own ends. A child's use of crying as a means of bringing about desired ends is an example.

Sometime before six years of age, the time depending on the individual and the environment, a child is likely to take a very important step, that of grasping the possibility of cooperation with other children and of becoming to some degree responsive to group influence as expressed in its approval or disapproval, its likes and its taboos. For some years individualism and social response will divide control, but there comes a time with most children, often between ten and twelve years of age, when the group, whether a gang, a club or some other unit, becomes the dominant factor in their lives. Many of a child's finest characteristics, such as loyalty and unselfish cooperation, are likely to be developed here, even when the results, as judged by adult standards, are lawless and unpleasant.

Rebellion against adult control, even to the point of deliberate repulsing of parents and just as deliberate disobedience, is typical of a stage through which many children pass at, or a little later than, twelve years of age. Still later, social influences, especially those concerned with the other sex, modify behavior, and gradually the pendulum swings less extremely, and the integration of instincts and experiences results in a more or less balanced personality in which individuality has escaped subordination, but has learned to function in relation to conditions and to personalities.

No one can be entirely free. Limitations in ourselves and our environment continually influence and modify our actions, and even our thoughts and desires. The freedom of one cannot infringe on the freedom of others without spoiling the very ideal of freedom itself. Freedom for each one in any interdependent group of human beings means a controlled cooperative freedom in which each one is bound both by his own motives and by the necessity of such conformity to group decisions and customs as shall allow equal freedom to all the others. In violation of this conformity liberty would degenerate into license for some of the group, and no liberty for the others.

How, then, is it possible to bring about this ideal combination in which the child, while learning what is necessary in group cooperation, yet has the oppor-

tunity to try himself out, to experiment with his powers and, finally, to achieve self-mastery?

It would be absurd to claim that there is any single "method" or "panacea" that will solve every case, prevent all conflicts, abolish the need of adult supervision and control. Yet there is a plainly indicated path that leads most directly to the end desired, and parents and teachers follow it more and more.

Group Ideals

It is necessary, first, to understand that a child is not a smaller adult, that he is not just preparing for a later life. Rather, he is living a complete but different life, whatever his age, and successful living of that life will lead quite naturally into the following stage of living. With modifications in emphasis, dependent on the age in question, the two ideals of individual development and due response to the group should be present in each stage of the child's living. Teachers through all the school years, instead of disciplining "individuals," can influence group ideals. They can encourage pupils to find out for themselves what agreements (laws) are necessary for the general good, and support the group in the enforcement of such laws, at the same time encouraging initiative, originality and leadership in individuals. When they do this, our schools will send out a product that will revolutionize our country, if not civilization itself. Think of the changes that would come about if a good proportion of our citizens were independent thinkers seriously interested in community problems, and willing to cooperate in their solution even at some personal sacrifice!

If a school were successfully carrying out such a program—and many are trying to find the best way to do this—it would establish valuable habits largely through the group's recognition of their importance. Children of kindergarten age can recognize the inconvenience to themselves caused by the lack of punctuality of others, by their selfish demand for more than their share of attention, by their desire to appropriate the choicest materials, or by their noise making or disorder when the class is doing something that would be disturbed.

Qualities essential in leaders or even in good followers are early recognized by children. I have known a group of nine-year-olds to do finer thinking in this respect than is common in adults, and even to discover the "recall" for themselves, asking for the resignation of an officer who had not proved the most capable for the position. About one hundred and fifty girls of from fifteen to eighteen years of age had several discussions last year on the habits and attitudes they would wish their future daughters to develop during their school years, and the thinking done by these girls was both idealistic and practical.

If it is granted, then, that adolescent pupils are capable of thinking intelligently and seriously on such questions, the school's duty is clear. It must remove unnecessary restrictions such as cause only suspicion and rebellion, and must, to the degree for which any particular group is ready, give its members responsibility for the conduct of their activities and the development of their codes and agreements.

Even in subject study much of value can be done by providing material on all sides of the question, by encouraging original research and independent thought, and by discouraging rote repetition of facts and quoted opinions. Yet it must be pointed out to pupils that there are matters about which there can be no difference of opinion—such as the multiplication table—and that well informed opinion should take precedence over prejudice or snap judgment. The classroom should be a forum in which truth is sought. Argument there should be—argument not for its own sake, but to bring forward all the information that bears on the subject, so that logic and judgment can have their way with the facts.

A very valuable contribution of the subject work comes through the increasing use of group undertakings in a way to give opportunity for planning together, cooperating in a problem or project, and realizing the pleasure in an accomplishment done together with others. Practically all school subjects give opportunity for such work, and it has great value in vitalizing and motivating the subject matter, as well as in its social contributions.

Group Responsibility

The girls of whom I earlier spoke were very emphatic in their appreciation of the importance of practice in leadership. They felt that every pupil should have ample opportunity to take responsibilities, for that only through responsibility carried could greater strength come. Extracurricular activities provide the easiest opportunities of this kind; but all through school there should be pupil formed organizations that carry as much as possible of the government and other responsibilities of the various groups. Many pupils, like many adults, are critical and uncooperative as long as they have no part in the management of their concerns, but become thoughtful and actively helpful when the burden of responsibility falls on them.

What is essential, therefore, is to make it unnecessary for the child to "step out" in a way antagonistic to authority and to his adult friends in the family and school. He *must* try his strength, and if we give him no chance to try it in partnership with us, he will, even to his own disadvantage, try himself against us. Why not then, without actually abdicating our authority—for it may still be necessary to exercise it—concern ourselves seriously with providing, in all the school years, responsibilities of all

kinds for the pupils to shoulder, undertakings giving scope for initiation and originality, for the development of wise leaders and intelligent cooperators?

Why not build up a conception of laws as agreements which we individually or through our representatives are making for our own protection and good, and which we, therefore, are responsible for keeping unbroken? We err when we challenge childhood to combat in other than friendly contest, for we divert a natural and constructive force into dangerous channels, letting the child associate the pleasure that comes from activity and power with antagonism to right and authority, instead of with its highest satisfaction, which comes from cooperation and up-building.

Even this brief discussion on self-reliance would not be complete without a word of modification. Not always can cooperation be obtained, not always will the child complete the task, not always will right habits be formed by the child's own will. All of this may be due to earlier mistakes of adults, but such situations must be met as they arise. In such cases absolute firmness and consistency must combine with patience and understanding in such a manner that the child conforms to the degree that is necessary. Such incidents should, however, be only minor parts of the general plan, kept as far as may be in harmony with the conception of sympathetic comradeship rather than opposition. If that conception can be put in practice through any child's life, only abnormality can prevent a response that will make him a man and a citizen of the finest type possible for him.

The Keys to the City

New "freedom" has not necessarily trained youth for independent and self-confident maturity.

SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG

"If you aren't in by ten, you needn't come in at all!"

Thus a father to his seventeen-year-old son, in the name of discipline.

For numberless generations such a pronouncement would have been accepted by most people as a normal expression of paternal authority and judgment. Today it sounds rather absurd, because it is out of harmony with both our ways of living and our notions of discipline. New ways of living have forced us to give our sons and daughters latch keys, and our notions of discipline have changed as to objectives as well as to methods and include a new conception of freedom. But even if the latch key is a symbol of freedom, it does not throw open to youth all the doors to the city of adult life, nor does it relieve its bearer of all responsibility.

In the traditional manner, discipline was a heavy handed but simple insistence on the philosophy of "theirs-not-to-reason-why." With the flux of social patterns and ideals, we are coming to think of discipline as a training for independent living. In the good old days the normal escape from the smothering domination of parents was, for a boy, leaving home and, for a girl, marriage. Today things are different and perhaps in many respects better; but we must not forget that whichever avenue our predecessors chose, they accomplished their escape at an age which would today seem appallingly young. If our grandparents undertook vocational responsibilities or got married at an age when our children are still at school, the fact is representative of all those changes that together make it increasingly impossible to solve the problems of today by the rules of yesterday.

It is characteristic of the present age to emphasize "freedom" in a way that seems to repudiate all the implications of "discipline." Yet it is obviously absurd to choose between the disciplines that were developed under tyrannies and dominations and coercions, and the freedom that comes from letting youth run wild. It is not a question of yielding entirely to the untrained impulses of adolescence as against the philosophy of implicit obedience to the whims and wishes of the elders.

In many ways the much vaunted freedom of the adolescent is an empty experience which yields him little or no training for life, no discipline in the use of freedom as a mature individual. This curious presentday phenomenon of the "free" adolescent in an environment sharply hemmed in by strictly prescribed routines, grows out of two desires: that to prolong the period of schooling and protect youth from the terrific economic pressure of modern living.

By this very "freedom" from economic responsibility we are in reality tying adolescents closer to ourselves, for their opportunity to continue in school, as well as all of the other goods that they enjoy, are theirs through the gift of their parents, rather than a result of their own exertions. Now, while the younger child accepts this relationship as a matter of course, the adolescent becomes increasingly resentful of it as he becomes increasingly aware of the re-

straints which the parents thus exercise over his coming and going.

The Purse String Still Holds

THE PROBLEMS growing out of great economic changes are often overlooked in the home until acute situations arise in relation to money. Since the economic dependence of the adolescent is to remain a normal part of our relationships, it is important to build up in advance the acceptance by the individual of his claim upon his share of the family income, without any misgivings or apologies on the one hand, and without avarice or arrogance on the other. This involves for the parents the difficult problem of constant judgment as to apportionment and budgeting. The adolescent boy or girl will sometimes have to accept with strained grace the assurance that the family "cannot afford" a desired dress or suit, but that is hard to reconcile with the announcement a few days later that paterfamilias has bought a car—a real car—when the young people might have been sufficiently thrilled with a second hand Ford. How are these conflicts to be reconciled, even where we can justify our practices to ourselves and to other adults?

It is only in their play life, which adults have not taken too seriously, that they have any considerable amount of initiative. In everything else they are obliged to live according to rules and programs made by other people. Sooner or later the adolescent comes to realize that there are very few moments of the day that are his own and very few real decisions in which he even shares the responsibility. We must not be astonished, then, that play and sport have come to play so large a part in his life.

Though parents still have it within their power to "discipline," that is impose restrictions, and to exact certain compliances from their children, they are rather at a loss as to what restrictions and what compliances to insist upon. For parents themselves, as we see them at present, have lost confidence in the familiar guides and sign-posts. They are not clear as to the meanings and values of the older patterns of convention and propriety. They are not clear as to the patterns they would have their children adopt.

Given the life we are actually living day by day, the immediate question is, "What kind of discipline does youth need and what can the parents of youth do to make it effective?" If blind obedience has ceased to be a cardinal virtue, what effective substitute have parents discovered or worked out?

No Single Rule for All

THE IMPORTANCE of the entire setting, of the whole scheme of mutual relationships and shared experiences, cannot be overlooked in our search for specific devices or rules. In a family of five children, the oldest, a boy of fifteen, was sent to bed in the middle of the afternoon, as a "punishment" for having teased his sister. To most modern parents this treatment would appear shocking; and certainly it is difficult to find an excuse for it in the light of all we know. Yet this episode need leave few scars in its particular setting, since here both parents spend a great deal of time at home and the children take part in many of the activities of the household, garden and fields; even a flagrant violation of good sense in dealing with children can be absorbed and forgotten in the midst of the many experiences in common. But in a setting more typical of today, with children and parents spending little time together, such a wound might heal slowly or not at all.

All through the earlier years, through the preadolescent period parents must provide children opportunities for constructive and preparatory experiences, for essential information, for guidance in the development of outlook and attitudes, in anticipation of the strains and stresses of adolescence. It has become trite to say that the problems which present themselves at fourteen or eighteen are in reality the unsolved problems of four and eight; and yet they have to be met if they do present themselves.

We had thought to give all adolescents a good chance by offering them all the same chance; but at this period more than ever consideration needs to be given to individual differences, both at home and in school, in the social life as in vocational orientation. Certain changes and experimentations now going on in our educational institutions point to a recognition of this need. The four-year college of tradition, however valuable it may still be for large numbers, is no longer acceptable as the standard of higher education for all. The Antioch plan attempts to combine stimulus and guidance in higher intellectual pursuits for the boys and girls who think and work most effectively in terms of concrete situations and problems. An arts high school recognizes that the values of continued academic study are for some boys and girls available only if directly related to their dominating talents and interests. Administrators more and more realize that for many students experience in a variety of institutions may be worth more than four years of continued residence in one; or that a year in Europe, even without any definite schedule of studies, may be worth at least as much as the junior year which is merely continuation of the sophomore year.

So far as concerns the home, we need similarly to recognize that significant changes have taken place in our whole mode of life, so that we may not expect the young people to attach the same values and meanings to the numberless terms and symbols of our daily relationships. We know that the dollar is not what it used to be, but in dealing with their

children many parents are disposed to think of dollars as dollars were in the days of their own adolescence. Coming home at ten o'clock or at one o'clock does not mean the same as those hours meant a generation ago, when the evening meal, completed at an early hour, left a very long evening before midnight. Even the use of the telephone for personal calls of no great moment seems to shock many parents who remember that this instrument was a wonderful aid to be sought out only in emergencies.

Bridging the Gap

MANY of the problems of the adolescent come directly out of the speed at which changes are taking place in our times. While we have spoken chiefly of protected youth, those who are privileged to go to high school and to college as a matter of course, we must recognize that essentially the same problems are present for boys and girls who have to go to work at corresponding ages. While the various groups of the population have special problems to meet, in principle the same issues arise and the same attitudes apply. Neither parents nor adolescents are responsible for the gap in tradition which these particular generations are called upon to span.

The contrast between the attitudes of two generations toward the common things about us was sharply brought home to me by two thirteen-year-old boys spending a week in the country. On Saturday morning the sound of an airplane overhead made the older people stare and crane their necks. One of the boys called to his playmate in a tone of heavy sarcasm, "O Stuart, look isn't that wonderful, here comes an airplane! Did you ever see anything like that!" The sarcasm was not lost on the parents, who swallowed their pride, however, and found other things to look at. The following morning, at breakfast, a strange sound on the road pulled both boys to the window, where they stood absorbed. What *they* saw to stare at was a horse trotting along in front of an old-fashioned sulky!

The fact that the present generation of young people is so much more articulate than were their parents should be accepted as an advantage, for it makes possible, where there is real searching and effort of the elders to adapt themselves, day-by-day interpretation and re-valuation. It is most important for parents to recognize and to accept, in their own attitudes and in their explicit teachings to their children, the fact of a changing order. Our judgments cannot be offered in terms of a static world in which all truths and values are absolute and final. We do not know what the next day may bring forth, and all of our rules and guides, acquired with so much pain from the past, must be applied tentatively and with full consideration for time and place.

We have, then, even under what are apparently the most favoring circumstances, constantly to guard against the presentday tendency to overorganize the environment of our children, overformalize their lives, overstandardize our judgments and expectations. Boys and girls need now, as ever, the discipline of individual experiences in selecting and deciding, in judging and valuing, in initiating and terminating—in short, individual experiences in making mistakes, in succeeding and failing, in discovering themselves, and in adapting themselves. They need, at the same time, protection against fatal mistakes until they are mature enough to recognize the dangers, and guidance toward experience that will discover to them the optimal values in themselves, in their neighbors, in their educational opportunities.

The problem resolves itself not into an issue between freedom and control, but into the discovery of a technique whereby the adolescent may be projected into a situation in which the stakes are real and the issue worthy of concern. Freedom he has—of a sort; freedom to play with ideas, freedom from financial responsibilities, freedom from hard labor. Nevertheless, it is also true that these boys and girls, especially those in high school and college, are appallingly unaware of alternatives, almost totally innocent of experience in the making of choices. It is this situation more than any other which justifies the accusation that in comparison with our grandfathers at the same age, modern youth is immature.

For the immediate future our disciplines must aim more deliberately at the attaining of freedom and the ability to use it responsibly. We have to look forward to a time when men and women are able to live together, to cooperate for common ends, to solve common problems, not through the restraints and coercions of armies and constables, but through intelligent and self-directed efforts and self-control. We must conceive of the mature person not as one who skilfully evades his responsibilities and escapes the police, but as one who joyously and willingly joins with his fellows in the adventure of promoting common purposes. We must, therefore, learn to train our children not through fear of punishment, through putting a premium upon cunning and avarice, through repressions and impositions. We must seek new techniques that enable the child to assume responsibilities without being overawed, to assert himself without overriding others, to serve without truculence or condescension, to enjoy life without apologizing for it.

"Of all the errors in education to few can more unhappy homes be traced than to this . . . that parents have sought to command the obedience before they have sought to win the confidence of their children."—LECKY.

The Happy Medium

Parents who abdicate all authority have exchanged one harmful extreme for another.

J. ALLAN HICKS

In some homes the old autocrats—the parents—have abdicated and the new dictator—the child—is in power. A great many parents have so completely disarmed that the children dominate the home. They do not punish, they ban the use of *no,* they seldom resort to compulsion, and they attempt never to repress the childish impulses. The purpose of this paper is to suggest that children raised in such homes are just as poorly fitted for happy, successful living as are children brought up in homes in which stern discipline is practiced. Properly understood and applied, the concept of child training that scientific study has given us results not in extremes but in a "happy medium."

Here is four-year-old Mary. Mary has never been repressed. Her parents have completely disarmed. They were brought up in families which felt that to spare the rod was to spoil the child. When they chanced upon the idea of the danger of inhibiting children, they decided that Mary should never be hampered by parental coercion such as they themselves had felt. Thus Mary has seldom been denied anything that she wished, or compelled to do anything she did not wish to do. She has never been punished by withdrawal of privileges, much less by spanking. At four years of age what manner of girl is Mary? The neighbors and friends will tell you that she is a spoiled child. They do not care to have her in their homes as she is too self-centered to play happily with their own children. Mary is rude to her parents, flies into a rage or cries at the slightest provocation, and pays little heed to the requests or suggestions of any adult.

Mary Is Not Alone

Mary is representative of a large number of children whose parents have practiced complete disarmament. As they grow older they are likely to find it difficult to adjust themselves to any authority. They frequently become impudent and rebellious in school. As adolescents they may be indifferent to traditions, scornful of institutions and careless of the future. As adults they are often the poorly adjusted and the mentally ill.

Children brought up in homes where parents have abdicated fail to learn the fundamental fact of social living—that an individual must often repress immediate desires because of their conflict with the desires of other individuals, and that in turn the individual then secures the great advantages which result from group living. For example, he represses desires to seize and hold property but in turn others must respect his possessions. Saving money for an ultimate purpose is a case where the future holds the gain.

Socializing the Baby

All foregoing of immediate desires is as foreign to the infant as it is to the beast or the savage. Only gradually can the infant be taught to inhibit desires that are anti-social for those that bring ultimate happiness.

In a home in which the child largely follows his own whims there is little opportunity for learning these lessons at this important early age in the child's life. The child who dominates the home begins to have trouble in school where he cannot always follow his whims and fancies. Happily some children learn to work and play in school groups even when ill prepared for it at home. This is especially true of children who are placed in a well conducted nursery school at an early age. It is interesting to see how such children revert to their anti-social behavior when returned to the home. Other children never learn to get along well with groups. They are openly or secretly rebellious of any group or individuals who attempt to discipline them in any way. Of such are the disgruntled, the malcontents of society made.

Furthermore the completely disarmed parents, in their zeal to give their children the greatest possible opportunity for creative self-expression, defeat the very purpose they have in mind. In the home, as in the school, adults by the very nature of their wider experience must guide and direct childish interests. Whims must often be denied and worth while interests aroused. The child has also to be taught techniques and skills, often at the expense of laborious drill, for the ability to express the self in paintings or in gardens does not spring into being full blown. The skilful parent or teacher will, of course, guide interests and teach techniques with due regard to the laws of learning. The ideal in mind in all cases will be to help the child learn to judge values and discipline himself to work at tasks often disagreeable in themselves in order to obtain an ultimate goal.

What are some of the first steps upon which parents may base control of their children? In the first place the infant should be taught fundamental habits. He can begin to learn almost from the moment of birth that desires are not always subject to immediate fulfillment. He learns to eat at certain times

and to sleep on schedule. He learns that crying does not mean being picked up, so he seldom cries unless in pain. By one year of age the baby brought up on the regimen now outlined by child-training experts is well on the way to learning the lesson that life itself is a discipline—that one cannot always have what one immediately desires. Without this orderly early beginning it would seem hopeless to expect to teach the child the lesson of self-discipline.

Then, too, the child should be taught obedience. Wise parents will use their power with greatest care, but they will be kindest to their children if they teach them that a reasonable command, once made, must be obeyed and that no amount of subterfuge or argument on the child's part will prevail against it. In the case of Mary, had the mother from the beginning consistently required the fulfillment of certain daily routines, perhaps before any dissent was allowed, she would now have but an occasional test of her authority on Mary's part. As it is, Mary knows she need not obey and seldom does. Finally, all authority must be used wisely. The child must be taught to obey, but parents often make entirely too many commands, thereby inviting disobedience. They command when they should suggest, and they command when they should do nothing at all. How often the child is heckled with an unending series of *don'ts,* or is instructed in detail as to what to do even in play. If the use of authority is too excessive the child may become wishy-washy with little chance of ever becoming a capable and courageous adult. Again, he may rebel and openly defy the parent. Still again, if afraid of punishment he may secretly rebel and his smouldering resentment may result in personality difficulties.

Wise parents will give their children every possible opportunity to make their own decisions so that they may develop ability in self-direction and self-discipline. They will not completely disarm but they will so use their power that there be increasingly less need of it as the child matures. At last another adult capable of self-direction and self-discipline will be ready to take up the never ending process of teaching these things to another generation.

"Just don't n-o-t-i-c-e her, my dear. That's the best way."

Courtesy of Shermund and The New Yorker

Parents' Questions and Discussions

Discipline, the perennial problem, never twice wears the same appearance. But back of the infinite changes it rings, are a few simple principles by which parents may guide their day-to-day decisions.

Is it permissible to use a slap as a deterrent when the child is too young to understand language?

Physical punishment, even with a very young child, is likely to build up an undesirable relationship between the child and the adult. The slap may serve an immediate purpose in deterring some undesirable action, but we must remember that part of the object of punishing the child is to help toward future choices in his conduct. Instead of slapping his hand when he reaches for some forbidden object, we can give him something he *may* play with; when he tears today's newspaper, we can give him yesterday's with a definite gesture which he will understand as "Not *this,* but *this* you may tear." Thus the child soon learns to discriminate between things that are and those that are not suitable for his manipulation. Very often we can forestall and prevent certain situations and thus get along with progressively fewer punishments.

A four-year-old boy deliberately stuck a needle into his nurse's leg. His mother promptly pricked his leg with the needle to show him that it hurt. Was this a suitable way of handling the situation?

This child probably knew very well that the needle prick would hurt, and intended that it should. The gesture of "showing him that it hurt," therefore, served no purpose except as a vent for his mother's outraged indignation. If it was intended as a punishment, it was unnecessary, for it is unlikely that he would, in any case, ever repeat this offense. Though the mother should not permit herself to descend to the same level in this way, she should make her disapproval felt immediately. Her indignation and distress will in themselves have a disciplinary effect. Isolation might be the best means of impressing upon the child that what he has done has been a transgression of the social order.

It would also be helpful to examine the motivation for this seemingly unprovoked attack. Had the child any reason to dislike or resent the nurse? Had he any real or fancied grievance for which he wanted to "get even"? Is there another (possibly a younger) child who absorbs a large share of the nurse's attention? Has some member of the family been ill, so that the general solicitude of the family has been diverted from the five-year-old? Has anything occurred which might give him a sense of his own insecurity or inferiority, so that he feels a need for "making himself felt," if only by resorting to anti-social acts? Only when the cause of the child's difficulty is understood can the situation be intelligently handled, and then only indirectly through adjusting the causative factors in the environment. The child can be helped to put himself over in more socially desirable ways, and to achieve a sense of security in the family constellation.

A child of two takes off all his clothes whenever he can possibly manage to do so. He invariably takes off his nightclothes during the night or early morning. What measures might be taken to stop this practice?

Activities of this kind are usually the result of impulses toward self-help. Having acquired a technique for undressing himself the child is eager to try out this new ability at every opportunity. Undressing himself is to him not a "naughty" act but an achievement. We will do well to place our emphasis not on "stopping" him but rather on giving more scope to his developing powers. We can make a point of allowing him to help himself not only in undressing but in the processes of dressing himself, feeding himself, and other parts of his routine. In this way he may find, in legitimate activities, the satisfactions that come from this type of achievement, and at the same time learn that dressing and undressing are appropriate only at certain times and places. He probably needs, also, plenty of opportunity and materials for activity with his hands.

A three-year-old screams and kicks when her mother holds her hand at street crossings. How can she be made to accept this kind of necessary restraint?

The child must understand from the first that there are certain matters in which she has no choice. These are not allowed to become subjects for debate or compromise, but are simply carried out by the adult with firmness and precision. Nevertheless, the adult must also know when to begin to relax these

rules. At some times and at certain less dangerous crossings, for instance, she can begin to let the child cross without holding her hand, teaching her how to be watchful. Thus the child feels that the parent is really helping her to become self-reliant and is restraining her only where it is necessary.

A boy of five is always especially noisy and demanding during the hour when his mother is taking a music lesson. The offer of a reward for not disturbing her has worked once or twice, but is no longer effective. Should he be punished?

Being definitely barred from the room and from his mother's presence at this time is somewhat in the nature of a challenge to the child. He probably feels that he is "out of the picture," and his noise is his effort to compete against the lesson that is absorbing his mother's attention. Punishing him would only further emphasize his sense of deprivation and separation. It might be possible to select for the lesson hour a time when he is naturally occupied at work or play, or is resting. Or some especially engrossing occupation might be scheduled regularly for him at this hour, so that he may come to think of mother's lesson hour as his own hour for a special privilege.

In a family of four children, the two younger ones seem to be much more gay and have sweeter dispositions than the two older, who are inclined to be quiet and serious. Since the younger children have grown up under a much less rigid discipline than the others, the mother fears that the older children have been handicapped by the strict regime of their early childhood. Is there anything she can do now to alter the results of this training?

One is hardly justified in drawing the conclusion that a difference in the children's behavior is wholly due to the difference in their handling. Factors of native disposition and endowment would play an important part, not only in their own reactions to their environment, but also in shaping somewhat the environment itself in so far as it consists of other people's attitudes toward them. Then, too, there are other factors of the environment which must be taken into account. For example, the younger children were born into a household already made lively and active by the presence of children. Perhaps there is a difference in the parents' own lives at this later period—an absence of economic or other pressure which has made for a happier home.

In any case, nothing is to be gained by fixing the "blame," but much may be done by drawing the older children into joyous activities and play contacts. On the other hand, they should be left free, wherever possible, to make their own choices, and should be provided always with abundant occasions and materials to choose from.

Recently a nine-year-old has been dawdling with his dressing and breakfast until he is too late for the school bus. Twice it has been necessary to send him to school by taxi in order to get him there on time. Would it be suitable and effective punishment to make him go by surface car and be late for school?

This situation cannot be solved as simply as that, for it involves a number of factors. The school naturally objects to tardiness and has a right to insist on punctual attendance for the best good of the whole group. The responsibility for getting the child to school on time rests with the home, and the parent shows a poor example of responsibility if she deliberately permits the child to be late.

It would, perhaps, be more helpful to examine the whole situation with a view to determining causes and making necessary adjustments. Because the difficulty has developed only recently, it may be a form of rebellion against some factor at school. Or it may be an effective attention-getting mechanism. It may indicate nothing more than a difference in tempo. Every child must get ready at his own pace, and too great time-pressure is likely to arouse a self-protective resistance. This child may need more encouragement and less pressure—more time and greater assistance from adults in organizing the details of the morning routine. It may help to give him a watch of his own, so that he may set his own pace and accept responsibility himself.

A teacher complains of a ten-year-old that he is "disobedient and disrespectful" at school, and that no form of school punishment has seemed to alter his attitude. She asks the parents to "discipline" him at home; but they, being entirely out of sympathy with the school's ideals of discipline, refuse to punish the boy for what they consider "intelligent rebellion against stupid school requirements."

This is primarily not a question of discipline but rather one of home-school relationships. The parents have a definite responsibility toward the school. Even when they do not subscribe to all its methods, they are still under obligation to uphold the dignity of the school and to conform to its group requirements as long as their child is under its regime. They can best help this boy to achieve a happy adaptation, not by allowing him to feel that he is superior to the school and its rules, but rather by giving him an appreciation of his own responsibilities as a member of a group. He can be helped to understand the school's point of view and the teacher's problems, and thus to achieve what is more significant—a sense of values and perspective.

Self-Directed Discipline

How a progressive school "runs itself."

WILLARD W. BEATTY

In a recent magazine article, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick expressed in a few paragraphs the principles underlying the disciplinary approach of many modern and progressive schools.

> "Some of us were so fortunate as to be reared in homes where we were trained to obey something not external to ourselves but within. Call it conscience, or ideals, or what you will—we were taught that within us was a central object of rightful loyalty. Some of us can recall with what insistence and skill our parents, in cases of transgression, pushed back our sense of guilt from the consciousness of having broken a rule to the feeling that we had violated something within ourselves. We were taught that codes and rules, parents and teachers were valuable only as they made this inward law visible and cogent: that the real shame lay in being untrue to oneself.
>
> "The upshot of such training is plain. The youth, having been reared to obey something within himself does not leave it behind when he goes from home. He never can escape it. He has been trained to take charge of his own life—prepared for independence.
>
> "This ideal involves another principle: that the parent should never decide for the child anything which the child can decide for himself. One of the French kings, in engaging a tutor for his children, is said to have summed up his duties by saying, 'Make yourself useless as soon as possible.' In a real sense that is the proper motto for parenthood."

Enter any elementary classroom in the Bronxville schools and watch the children's activity. With the majority, the actions of each child are growing out of some purpose, in the shaping of which all have participated, and in which each has had his part. Each is contributing to the success of a group activity. A sense of interdependence underlies it all. Skilfully the teacher has planned so that every child desires to take part in what is going forward. Entering upon the activity because he wishes to, he has the desire to succeed. Early it becomes apparent that the anti-social individual whose attitude is destructive to the aims of the group is interfering with the rights of the majority. The teacher is careful to direct the discussion of this interference, so that the child himself may see that it is his fellow classmates who resent his anti-social attitude, not the teacher who tries to repress him.

Punishment has no place anywhere in this scheme of organization. There are, of course, occasions when a child must suffer the immediate result of his unwise actions. But pain and mortification, when and where they come, are the direct and visible outgrowth of the child's own deliberate action, and not inflicted by an older person in response to irritation.

Classrooms conducted on this basis are quiet, orderly places of work, in which individuals are moving about their own affairs with consideration for the rights and needs of others. Much of the time it matters not whether the teacher is present or absent, although it is conceivable that disintegration might begin when the less controlled individuals ran out of immediate occupation.

The occasional child who fails to make a satisfactory adjustment to the social obligations of the classroom is studied and helped as an individual. The teacher who finds the problem of maladjusted personality beyond her skill to handle in the classroom may refer the case to the school psychologist, who makes an immediate, personal and detailed study of the individual, and all the factors which may contribute to his behavior attitude.

In the junior and senior high schools, the problem becomes a little different because of the number of teachers with whom the children come in daily contact. An effort is made to develop among the faculty a uniform approach to the children, and again the emphasis is placed upon the necessity for pupil-formulated decisions. Weekly conferences on constructive citizenship are held with each class group, led by a particularly understanding faculty member. Through discussion the attempt is made to formulate a sense of group and individual responsibility.

The older students through cooperative groups, such as student councils, have an additional share in the direction and determination of school policies. These are representative groups, elected by the students, meeting with faculty representatives, which form a clearing house for discussions which have gone forward in the conferences. Out of such council discussions emerge expressions of prevailing student sentiment. The councils possess no power to enforce their decisions, but furnish leadership by means of which desirable attitudes or policies may be determined.

While the faculty is ready to advise whenever called upon, or prepared to take over, if necessary, the administration of any function which is mismanaged, the students possess the power to direct the affairs of the school, so long as that direction is intelligent, and shows due regard to the rights of all. There are no rules to be obeyed or violated.

While we try to contribute to the formation of student ideals, developing in conference with them the reasons back of manly and womanly behavior, the ultimate decisions are theirs. Through that experience we believe that they are being prepared to make those greater decisions which will come in their new lives at college or in business, where maternal, paternal and scholastic supervision is withdrawn, and the individual succeeds because of the strength of right thinking within himself.

Book Reviews

The Literature of Discipline

LONG before the word "psychology" had been coined, before child study had been dreamed of or parent education foretold, DISCIPLINE had been writ large in the literature of many civilizations. Philosophers, preachers, and the powerful men of the earth were alike interested in this phase of child life, if in no other, and not only recorded their views but did their utmost to see that they were carried out. They did not need to know presentday psychology to sense the fact, since further emphasized by the findings of scientists, that "discipline" in childhood—whatever one or another may mean by that—makes the man.

In surveying the literature of discipline, perhaps the most difficult problem is deciding where to start. One might set a date arbitrarily almost anywhere down the ages. For the present let us not go back to the Mosaic Law . . . as well we might . . . or even to the philosophers of the eighteenth century. There is more than enough to read within the stricter confines of what we all know as parent education literature—and practically every shade of conflicting opinion is represented.

Parents cannot escape their responsibility simply by doing "what it says in the book," because they can find published authority for many conflicting acts and attitudes. It is common to find that "discipline" has been confused with both "obedience" and "punishment."

Perhaps we can make these distinctions clearer in our own minds if we look through some of these books and magazines. They exhibit two main trends which we frequently think of as "old-fashioned" and "modern." Though they are not really to be differentiated chronologically, it is true that each represents the trend of the times in which it was most universally accepted. Yet the traditional view which has the weight of centuries on its side comes down to the present day intact. And the progressive view, which we think of as essentially new, actually existed in the thinking of individuals in the past. "Of these two magazine clippings, which is the more modern"?

> "I would recommend to every parent to begin the establishment of authority much more early than is commonly supposed to be possible; that is to say, from the age of eight or nine months. You will perhaps smile at this, but I do assure you from experience, that by setting about with prudence, deliberation and attention, it may be in a manner completed by the age of twelve or fourteen months. Do not imagine that I mean to bid you use the rod at that age; on the contrary. I mean to prevent the use of it in a great measure, and to point out a way by which children of sweet and easy tempers may be brought to such a habit of compliance as never to need correction at all."

> "If you really want to cure a child of running away, plan to neglect a lot of other things for several days. Then show the child a crack in the walk, a tree, a stone, a gate—something very definite—beyond which she may never go alone. When the child is let out of doors be near her at the moment when she approaches the deadline. As soon as she crosses it seize her, pull down her clothes, bare her bottom, and give her about twenty good stinging, slappy slaps upon her fat thighs. Then, for the next week or two, always be on hand every time your child is at all likely to cross that line. Let her choose to do as she likes always; when she chooses to step over the forbidden line apply the pain."

The quaintness of phrase may give away the antiquity of the more "progressive" writer, who actually was a contributor to William A. Allcott's "Annals of Education" in 1838. The traditional attitude, on the other hand, is thus upheld in an article by Garry Cleveland Myers in *Babyhood,* March, 1929.

Those who have thought of discipline as that training which leads to implicit obedience have been the ones most ready to summon severity to their aid. The whole question of corporal punishment has, in recent years, been confused at this point with certain findings of experimental psychology.

Laboratory experience suggested to Dr. John B. Watson that training would be effective if, when the baby reached to the table for forbidden objects, the table were electrically equipped to give him a slight shock. (Dr. Watson has presented his theories in his book, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child.)* This sort of training may be experimentally sound but this mechanical pain-producer is out of the question in everyday life. It therefore seemed to some of those intrigued by this method that it would be perfectly simple to substitute the human slap or spank as "something just as good." The following, taken from a magazine article by Smiley Blanton and Margaret G. Blanton in *Hygeia* for October, 1929, illustrates the logic by which this conclusion has been reached:

> "Physical punishment should be sharp, short and used for the purpose of giving a conditioned reflex. The conditioned reflex is the most important method of learning with which the child is originally endowed.
>
> "The nervous system is so organized that the body is automatically withdrawn from painful stimuli without the action of the conscious mind. If the child's

finger touches a hot stove, the hand is withdrawn. Speaking broadly, this is an example of a simple reflex. After the child has had his finger burned on the hot stove, the next time he sees the stove, even though it is not hot, he remembers the pain and withdraws his hand. The original stimulus of heat is no longer there. The sight of the stove is sufficient to make him withdraw his hand. It may be said that the child has been conditioned to the sight of the stove so that he will jerk his hand away from it. . . .

"If a child is slapped on the hand when he reaches for something, the pain given should be sharp enough that the child will withdraw his hand next time at the same point. Physical pain should be given only for the purpose of forming a conditioned reflex."

Garry Cleveland Myers, in *Babyhood,* for October, 1928, develops the same principle with a slightly different technique:

"Be always present when the child is exposed to the particular dangerous thing you have selected to work upon. Let him always have the opportunity to touch it. Then always give him pain immediately. You are not interested in keeping the child from that dangerous thing just this time. If you were you merely would gently pull him away from it. In that instance punishment would be cruelty to him. But you are interested in creating in his nervous system a permanent association of pain with the forbidden act or thing. You want to make this pain so certain that the dangerous object always will be avoided, so that it will be avoided in your absence as well as in your presence. If you can not rule yourself out of the association you have failed. Make the pain as certain and as automatic as if the dangerous object had itself administered the pain when touched."

In another discussion in *Babyhood,* in May, 1929, the same author continues:

"If you would love your baby now and later go on loving him and teaching him to love and honor you, if you would guarantee his happiness and yours, don't spare the spank . . . . Common sense and every day experience dictate that we can very quickly teach a child of one or two, just as we teach a pup, to avoid certain objects and activities, if always and immediately the child experiences sufficient pain every time he is physically associated with the object of activity; that, bye and bye, the remembered pain associated in the baby's nervous system, will alone deter the child."

Mary B. Sayles points out in *The Problem Child at Home:*

"That principles of value in the management of children have been discovered through the study of habit formation in animals is incontrovertible." But she continues "When a father lays great emphasis on instant obedience and the drill which secures it from his child, when he uses reward and punishment freely in the effort to establish fixed habits of response in the youngster, he may never have reflected that he is employing methods commonly used with colts and puppies, still less that he is being influenced by a school of psychology which has been largely engaged in the study of animals."

At this point Dorothy Canfield Fisher in one of the essays in *Mothers and Children* contributes to the discussion, almost indeed, as if in first hand conversation rather than through the long distance medium of print:

"'Why, she wants the child to act like a horse!' I thought. Which led me, of course, into a consideration of the difference, if any, between colts and children. In fact, the main difference seems to be the ultimate destination of the two young animals. The colt is to grow up in an utter and implicit reliance on human beings into a horse who will always have human beings set in authority over him. The child begins with a similar entire reliance on adults; but with the most disconcerting rapidity he grows swiftly to be an adult himself, who must not only govern his own life, but in most cases has very soon thrust upon him the awful responsibility of being in his turn an all-wise adult for little children. Horses can without danger to themselves acquire the habit of unquestioning obedience to any human being, because there will always be in their lives some human being for them unquestioningly to obey; but children may not, without grave danger to themselves, become fixed in the habit of unquestioning obedience to adults, because in the nature of things such a habit can only be a temporary matter."

This then is what might actually happen in the case of the child trained "like a puppy" to leave matches alone—he is not being taught to react to the danger of *matches* but rather to the danger of being spanked when confronted by the combination of *matches plus mother.* With matches alone, mother being sooner or later absent, it is doubtful if he could be trusted.

There are other reasons against physical punishment which a parent may well weigh. Dr. Felix Adler, whose *Moral Instruction of Children,* published in 1892, remains in the vanguard after nearly forty years, was one of the first to point out the fundamental fallacy in the theory of corporal punishment—the rod is an infringement of personality, destructive alike to punisher and punished. The practical implications of the point of view expressed by Dr. Adler are stated in *Your Child Today and Tomorrow* by Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, the first edition of which was published in 1912 and was one of the first books addressed directly to parents. The following is taken from the third edition, revised in 1928:

"I do not think that all is lost if a child is grasped forcibly to keep him from inflicting injury, or if the parent loses his patience and applies direct action. But the deliberate resort to corporal punishment for the purpose of correcting a fault or as a measure of 'discipline' should be entirely ruled out. The hasty infliction of pain may not be well proportioned or delicately adjusted to either the offense or to the offender; the child is able to understand, however, that there is a just occasion for indignation or anger. The more deliberate and cold-blooded infliction of pain is inexcusable, precisely because it implies a cool search for effective means toward an end and comes to nothing better than what an inexperienced child or untrained savage has at hand in the presence of annoyance or irritation. The more deliberate the punishment in such a case, the worse it is.

"Corporal punishment is bad for the child because it reaches him on the lowest level possible—that of vindictiveness or retaliation, or that of physical pain. Corporal punishment is objectionable because it is a violation of the child's personality. It is true that the

child can understand pain and retaliation even in the earliest periods; but corporal punishment assumes that the child cannot understand anything better. The infliction of bodily pain cannot, perhaps, be disregarded by the child, as can a word of admonition or reproof; but it can do more than arrest his attention—it can give him a sense of insecurity, of frustration, and of injustice. It may be more important for the child to feel confidence in the judgment of his elders as well as in their justice, than to feel certain that they are more powerful than he is: corporal punishment has the danger of making him feel resentment that advantage is taken of his weakness rather than gratitude that his faults are being corrected.

"The resort to corporal punishment, whether deliberate and systematic, or a sporadic outburst of violence, must always make the adult feel his own inadequacy."

Physical violence is not the only sort of cruelty to which children are exposed in the name of discipline. Fear, which has been used as long and as effectively, is also being abandoned. But it has not wholly been abolished, as witness the following treatment suggested for running away from home, as recommended in *Just Normal Children* by Florence Mateer published late in 1929. This writer first recommends that the child be either tied down to a chair or by five or six feet of rope to a heavy piece of furniture, for half an hour or more. When he is released the rope is not to be put out of sight but is to be hung silently but conspicuously in a handy place to be ready. The author continues:

"In extreme cases insist upon the child taking his clothes and leaving permanently. Keep up this insistence without anger or apparent interest, an hour or two, if necessary, at least until he begs to be allowed to stay. Then merely keep him 'on trial.' This brings a real increase in the home's value."

One wonders how a child so trained will train his children when it shall be his turn. Will he perpetuate the old doctrine which is actually quoted in this volume as "a moderate application of the principle of 'an eye for an eye'"?

"If a child hits another child, his own hitting hand must be tied up until the association, hitting-hand-is-useless-for-play, is formed. If this does not stop it, the hitting child must be hit, as hard or harder than he struck.

"A biting mouth fastened even ten minutes with a bit of adhesive tape seldom bites again.

"The child who lies must be lied to.

"The child who runs must be tied.

"The child who delays obedience must lose trips, privileges.

"The child who cannot be checked in any logical way often responds beautifully to a good old-fashioned spanking."

Or will he set out to find a more constructive plan than that which he suffered? Will he re-learn, as each of us must, the high standards expressed a century ago in Allcott's precepts?

"It is an established maxim, and a true one, that no one is fit to command who has not first learned to obey. But this ability to govern others is not the end of obedience, for of what use would it be in itself, merely to keep up in the world a constant series of obeying and governing? There must be some important end to be secured, of which obedience is the means."

If he chooses the latter course he will find perhaps no clearer statement of the fundamental ideal than this of a hundred years ago, but he will certainly find more practical advice as to how to go about clothing that ideal with reality. In *Wholesome Parenthood,* Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves outline the first steps:

"When we think of 'disciplining' a child, we usually think of punishing him, until we take a second thought and remember that discipline is just our way of getting a child to do what we think he should. Every time we have to take a stick in hand—literally or figuratively, for keeping a child after school or sending him to bed early is nothing more than a refined sort of stick, intended to make a child 'mind' by holding force over him—we admit that the child is too much for us.

"Our concern in disciplining a child is twofold: first, to see him as he is; and second, to steer him toward what seems to us a desirable course for him. To do this we have to learn to observe rather than judge, and help rather than hound. Is the 'bad boy' underweight? the 'lazy fellow' overweight? the 'mean child' a member of an unhappy household? the 'good boy' lacking in vitality? the 'brilliant girl' suffering from shut-in characteristics? Instead of punishing some of these and egging others on to over-develop traits that are already full grown, we need to dig out the root causes in each problem of child-behavior and plant new conditions that will change the resulting situation."

Another statement of these same principles is that of Dr. Douglas Thom in *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child:*

"Obedience comes from discipline; and discipline can come only from leadership and confidence in the one who is leading. The natural inclinations and tendencies with which the child is endowed do not take into account the advantage to the parents of having children who are obedient, polite, honest, and ambitious. All these desirable traits are to a large extent dependent upon the environmental forces with which the child comes in contact.

"Parents must take time to evaluate the importance of the innumerable things for which they are demanding obedience and to bear in mind that they are attempting the impossible in their efforts to attain obedience in all the various spheres of the child's activity. We must appreciate the fact, as parents, that what is frequently interpreted as disobedience from our adult standards has none of the elements of disobedience so far as the child is concerned. If standards are set too high by the parents, failure is inevitable. Nothing is more fatal to the initiative and enthusiasm of the child than constant failure.

"Whether children are obedient or disobedient depends to a great extent upon the standards and requirements of the environment and the attitude of those in authority. If the ideal of conduct is too high and the goal of attainment too far distant, effort may appear futile. The method used in attempting to gain obedience is frequently the cause of failure to accomplish the desired result."

Though "modern" and "old-fashioned" do not seem to hold good as labels for disciplinary systems, it does seem to be true that more and more writers, and more and more parents, are working out clearer, more concrete and more practical concepts of the nature and function of punishment, of obedience, and finally of discipline. Punishment seems to dwindle, in the attention and emphasis put upon it by the authorities, in inverse ratio to their belief in positive discipline. As to obedience and discipline, which have also frequently been confused, two closing statements point to our increasing understanding:

> "If we were asked what was the keynote of a practical and common-sense parental attitude in respect to child-training, we should sum the matter up in one word—discipline. By discipline we mean the reasonable regulation and supervision of the fundamental habits of a child throughout all stages of his development and a consistent plan for having the child observe those rules that are laid down."
>
> *"Parents and the Pre-School Child," William E. Blatz and Helen Bott.*

> "Now, punishment undoubtedly has a place in the training of children, but only a negative place. The proper punishment, administered in the right spirit, may cure or correct a fault; but punishment does not make children good. If children are punished frequently, it may even make them bad.
>
> "In the training of the child we often forget that the child will some time outgrow his childishness. We must consider not only what is the best kind of behavior for a child, but what kind of habits it is best for a child to develop in view of his some day becoming an adult human being. We want men and women to develop into free agents—that is, people who act in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience and their best judgment. With this aim in view, how much emphasis should then be placed on the matter of obedience?
>
> "We do not wish to train our children for submission, but for judgment and discernment. We must, therefore, respect the child's individuality. We are, however, not obliged to choose between blind, unquestioning obedience and the undignified situations which arise from habitual disobedience. Obedience to persons as a settled habit is bad. The ability to obey promptly and intelligently when the commander's authority is recognized—to respond to suggestion and guidance—is desirable. Obedience is a *tool* the parent may use with wisdom and discretion. It is not an *end* in discipline or in life.
>
> "We should educate *through* obedience—that is, cultivate the habit of intelligent response—but we must not educate *for* obedience—that is, the habit of submitting to the will of others."
>
> *"Your Child Today and Tomorrow," Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg.*

ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN
BERTHE GOODKIND

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Discipline and Punishment

(*Continued from page 5*)

OCCASIONALLY we see discipline by love in too extreme a form. Some parents are able to build up a parent-child relationship in which the child appears to have so great a need for the parent that the child's whole interest seems to be to anticipate and comply with parent wishes, while at the same time he completely denies his own impulses. His identification with his parent is so complete that neither discipline nor punishment appears to be necessary. Love for the parent has brought complete submission and denial of self.

If a love relationship of this type continues, new factors arise, especially as the child grows older and the denial of self and one's impulses becomes in-

creasingly irksome. If the love bondage holds, fear of self and the impulse life comes to play an increasingly important role, because if the love of the parent is to be retained, self and the impulse life must be denied. In this way, fear of losing the parent's love becomes converted into fear of self and one's own impulses. If an emancipation from the parent is finally achieved, one is apt to find an aggravated case of temptation versus conscience. The consequences of discipline by love can be fully as destructive as those of discipline by punishment.

When the parent's need for the child is less engulfing and when the child's love for the parent is less self-effacing, we find the child confronted daily with the problem of choosing the direction of his own behavior. Shall he follow his own spontaneous impulse or shall he follow the parent's patterns and ideals? He is constantly experimenting with his own behavior, but always with an awareness in the margin of his consciousness of the conflict which may exist between his own impulses and the ideals of his parent. His impulses carry their own strength. His parent's ideals have reality and strength for him according to the degree of his love for and identification with his parent.

Each act is, for him, an exercise in judgment, an exercise in practical morality, an exercise in self-discipline.* Gradually he acquires increasing knowledge of his impulses and of his parent's ideals. He gradually re-evaluates both, and during the process gives constructive direction to his primitive impulses and builds into himself an ideal of himself and a conscience, if you will, both of which are made out of the re-evaluated elements of his parent's ideals.

Most children are trained partly by discipline and partly by punishment, and closely related to these methods are the corresponding reactions of love and antagonism. They have the advantage of momentarily clarifying one aspect of the parent-child relationship from a specific point of view. Every emotional reaction can develop to a point where it functions destructively. Sometimes one gains an added perspective by considering not only the relative strength of one emotional pattern in isolation, but by considering the ratio between the strength of two or more emotional patterns. This is especially true in the parent-child relationship where pairs of dynamic opposites function so subtly and so effectively.

For the sake of clarity we have deliberately oversimplified these pictures. With emotional patterns functioning as they do during the child training period of the parent-child relationship, it is essential to bear in mind that love, fear, hate, the need to dominate, the need to retaliate and so forth all manifest themselves in varying degrees and proportions in the general run of families. Sometimes these manifestations are frank, open and conscious. But more frequently they are at work below the surface of awareness; the performers in the drama are unaware that, more or less like puppets, they are influenced and directed by the unseen power of their own emotions.

It is essential to bear in mind that psychologically, punishment is not confined to formal episodes of punishment. It takes place daily in the form of impatience or scolding, and in subtle forms of rejecting and disapproving or frustrating and coercing the child. No matter how unemotional the parent aims to be, no matter how closely he follows a prescribed pattern of procedure, he must always bear in mind that what is going on psychologically within the child may be very different from what he would wish or expect on the basis of his own emotional state at the moment. What may happen to the child at the parent's hand is one thing, but how the child emotionally flavors this experience may be quite another. Much of what the parent looks upon as discipline, the child will translate into the psychology of punishment.

With this point of view in mind the difficulty of entirely eliminating punishment, in the psychological sense, becomes apparent even though punishment, as it is ordinarily conceived, is a relic from our primitive past. At maturity the individual should be able to adjust to a variety of other individuals, many of whom will be controlled by patterns which imply "do as I wish or you will be punished." To have acquired an ability to turn the destructive effects of a punishment psychology to one's own advantage, may prove of value to the child now a man.

Perhaps no one child training instrument has every advantage and no disadvantages. It would appear that any method may function destructively when accompanied by such patterns in the parent as determine the development of complementary and destructive trends in the child. Parents must endeavor to acquire an ability to understand what is happening psychologically within themselves and within the child. This is far better than the effort to acquire a skill in following idealistic formulæ which parents are tempted to seize upon in order to relieve themselves of a deeper responsibility, or in order to secure a guilt-relieving sanction for continuing to make the same mistakes.

It would appear wise to let the child assume responsibility for his own behavior as early as possible. Yet children need a reasonable degree of protection. They need to be assisted toward a broader understanding of their emotional life and their relationships to others and to life, but what they need most is love and understanding from parents who are able to maintain their own security while setting their children free.

*In this connection it is well to realize that mistakes can become most constructive experiences; that, at times, the child has a right to be wrong and do wrong; that, many times, freedom can be achieved only at the price of traversing the agonies and delights of disobedience.

A South Carolina mother raises questions we all must sooner or later face.

" . . . . I want to say that is the way we have trained our boys; that is, we have given them chances to make money by letting them have one acre of tobacco apiece, also raising chickens and getting all the cash. They are 16 and 18 years old and made $250 apiece last year. Of course, they buy their own clothes and put gas in the car to take trips. Their money has been out for two months. We are letting them do without until they make more on tobacco which will start selling the fifth of August.

"But my real subject is: They are selfish, that is, they don't want to do anything except for themselves —like this, they think it's out of their place to feed my chickens or work their daddie's tobacco. They hate to do 'thanky ma'am' jobs for their neighbors or teachers or for me, as for that. I try to teach them that what they do for others they do for themselves. My daddie says, to let children have money means they are no longer under control. He has boys the same age of mine that dance to his tune like a two-year-old child; they get no money of their own. My older brother, 28 years old, says it makes cowards. I am puzzled about this child training."

By allowing the boys to retain as much as $250 apiece, have you perhaps led them to suppose that they would now have to solve their own problems without your support, either financially or in the way of guidance? The assumption that they must watch out for themselves, since no one else will, would tend to make them selfish. Evidently you feel that $250 a year is adequate for the boys' needs, and that by not giving them more money you will make them more foresighted another time. On the other hand growing boys are bound to make mistakes. The need of guidance is what leads eventually to harmonious relationships.

With reference to your father's comment, one can fairly say that if it has come to the point where the sole control of the parent over his children is based on money or on physical force there can only be the desire on the part of the children to escape from the domination of their parents.

It is a very involved problem, as you well realize, but if you can convey to the boys the fact that you know they are having difficulties and that you are ready to help them, you will create an atmosphere which they will in due time appreciate.

Historical Background for the Young Student

Our America. By Raymon Coffman. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 296 pages. 1930.

In his preface to *Our America* the author claims to have been guided by the principle of relating the truth as he has found it, and so avoiding the "sugar coating" so often found in national histories. Mr. Coffman deserves much credit for having succeeded in his aim, and for presenting us with a history of the United States in which the Indians are given not only space but studious attention, and wars appear unglorified, their causes and results of greater moment than individual battles and drum rolling.

This story of our America begins back in the times when dinosaurs and terrible lizards roamed the land. Only the last third of the book deals with our national development since the Revolution. Hence there is little or no political history, although the life stories of our famous men are lovingly told, and the progress of science and invention is given important place.

Mr. Coffman's style is straightforward, and what it may lack in vividness it makes up in clarity. Dates are few and far between; this reviewer would have found it helpful to have more.

Perhaps the most interesting features of the work are the profuse illustrations throughout. Most of them are from contemporary drawings and prints, and these alone would be excellent supplementary material to any American history course. For children 11 and up.

Here's to Broadway. By Edward T. Perine. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 321 pages. 1930.

And here's to this delightful picture of the development of a great city! Through a series of sketches of momentous days, sad and gay, Mr. Perine gives us an understanding of the heart and spirit of New York. But there is more than this; each of the days selected has a special significance. The story of the day necessarily carries with it a picture of the times and the people; hence we have a chronological outline of high spots in the history of the United States. From prerevolutionary days to Lindbergh's triumphal return, Broadway has served as pulse for the counting of the nation's heart beat.

Mr. Perine has added to the colorfulness of his story by frequent quotations from newspapers and eminent phrasemakers of each period. His own pleasant style and the reproduction of many contemporary photographs make most interesting a subject that is in itself far from dull. For the high school student and his parents.

MINNETTE S. KUHN

News and Notes

The Association's New Headquarters

The Child Study Association of America, having outgrown its quarters for the fourth time, has recently moved into a new home, 221 West 57th Street, New York City. A housewarming will formally open the new Headquarters to members and friends on Tuesday, October 14 at 3:00 p.m.; committee chairmen will act as hostesses. Special exhibits of books, toys, play material and musical instruments will be arranged by the committees.

Three-Day Conference

A Three-Day Conference will be held by the Child Study Association at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, October 20, 21 and 22. The speakers and topics to be discussed will be found on page 27.

Child Study Groups

Child Study Groups are the pivot around which the activities of the Child Study Association revolve. The members of these groups are parents, teachers, workers in the social and religious fields, and others who are concerned with the welfare of children. They meet with a leader to study not only the nature and needs of children, but also the wisest and most helpful ways of guiding and influencing them.

Without attempting to increase the number of study groups, the Association has made two distinct advances in recent years. There is a greater variety in the groups as to the subjects studied and the material; and the interest in child study has been extended to new social areas of the population. Groups have been organized for social, religious and educational workers in negro communities, for leaders of foreign-born mothers, and for these mothers themselves, for mothers of children enrolled in the Summer Play Schools (these continue through the winter), and for other well defined groups. Along with this expansion there has come an increased interest on the part of all group members in the work itself. Through this interest and cooperation in more systematic work, many groups have increasingly lent themselves as fields of observation by students and workers in parent education.

The nucleus of the study group work is that at Headquarters. These groups are organized from among active members of the Association who are interested in more detailed and directed study than local groups or the general lecture program of the organization can provide.

The groups to be given this season under trained leadership will cover the following subjects:

Infancy (Chapter 370) ..... *Dr. Augusta Alpert*

The Toddler (Chapter 371)
Mrs. Anna W. M. Wolf

In Mrs. Wolf's absence on leave, Mrs. E. L. Colegrove will act as leader.

Early Childhood from Three to Six (Chapter 372) ..... *Mrs. Marion M. Miller*

The Child from Six to Ten (Chapter 373) ..... *Mrs. Marion M. Miller*

The Child from Eight to Twelve (Chapter 257) .... *Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg*

Adolescence (Chapter 375) ..... *Mrs. Cécile Pilpel*

Guidance of Childhood and Youth (Chapter 376) ..... *Mrs. Cécile Pilpel*

Governesses and Other Parent Substitutes (Chapter 377) ..... *Mrs. Marion M. Miller*

Trends of Presentday Education and the Child (Chapter 378) ..... *Mrs. Ethel H. Bliss*

Parents and Sex Education (Chapter 379) ..... *Mrs. Cécile Pilpel*

Evening Group (Chapter 380)
Miss Margaret J. Quilliard

Grandmothers Group

Members may register on October 23 and 24 at the Association Headquarters, 221 West 57th Street, New York City, or by mail. Group meetings begin the week of October 27. Further information concerning the time of these group meetings may be obtained from the Study Group Department.

Other study groups come together under the auspices of schools, churches, civic or social organizations or kindred institutions, and meet either at the organization quarters or in the homes of members. These groups are led by staff members of the groups

whose background, experience and personality qualify them for leadership. The Study Group Department acts in an advisory capacity to these groups, and confers with the leaders on study program, material and method. The resources of the library and bibliographical research are also open to the members of these groups.

Summer Play Schools

This year twenty-one Summer Play Schools were conducted in New York City, and one each in Cleveland, Detroit and Memphis, under the supervision of the Summer Play Schools Committee for children of elementary school age during the long vacation period.

In New York City the Board of Education provided, in addition to the use of four public school buildings, sixty-four teachers from its all-day-care budget; supplies and equipment for arts and crafts, kindergarten and physical education; cots, luncheon tables and bus service. This assistance and the sympathetic understanding which the Board gives to the Summer Play Schools have been of inestimable value. In one center, in which it has a year-round contact with children, the Board provided health examinations with follow-up work, food, building and equipment. It also gave medical examinations to the children in two additional centers.

In Cleveland, the Board of Education provided the services of two teachers and the use of a building, and in Detroit the Board of Education gave the use of a building and some equipment, and the Recreation Department gave the services of one teacher.

In addition to the assistance given by the staff of the Summer Play Schools Committee, the local schools received the services of two part-time nature study supervisors, made possible by a donation from the Junior Summer Play Schools Committee of the Child Study Association.

Beginning at nine in the morning the children enjoyed a full program of joyous activities until four or four-thirty every week-day during July and August. The home-room, or "unit-plan" of program organization was used by almost every school, whereby a group of fifteen to twenty children were given some space in the school to call their own. Here, assisted by specialists in crafts, music, rhythms or nature study, the children worked out the many interests that were constantly aroused by their play school experiences.

Two schools again combined play school and camp and sent teachers and children to the latter for a month at a time, thus avoiding the confusion to the child that must result from a change in administration standards and routine.

Several of the schools made constructive plans for special groups of the boys and girls who were over the regular play school age and could spend only part-time in school because their services were needed at home. Two schools made room on the program for activity classes for mothers.

Sixteen conferences on modern education theories and practices were held at Headquarters during the winter for staff members of local play schools, and half-day departmental conferences in music, dramatics, nature study, arts and crafts and kindergarten after the schools were open. Carefully prepared minutes of all the meetings were sent to local and out-of-town schools, and visits were made to the latter by the director and extension director both before and after the schools opened.

Nineteen schools conducted mothers' meetings under the leadership of the parent education director on the Child Study Association staff. This work will continue during the winter, but will include a special program by the Child Study Association health director.

Radio Talks Over WEAF

Questions about which parents write for advice will be answered over the radio every Friday afternoon at 2:15 p.m. by staff members of the Child Study Association. The continued queries and comments are evidence of widespread interest. Questions should be mailed to WEAF, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York City, or the Association's Headquarters, 221 West 57th Street.

Educational Program in Philadelphia

Presenting an opportunity to study the history and methods of the child study and parent education movement here and abroad and its place among adult education and social service programs, Temple University's new course, "Educational Programs and Principles for the Cooperation of Home and School," will further attempt in Philadelphia to build up a thorough understanding of the parent education movement. The Parents' Council of Philadelphia and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers are cooperating with Temple University in giving the course.

Mrs. Arthur C. Watkins, executive secretary of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and Ralph P. Bridgman, director of the Parents' Council of Philadelphia, during the first semester, will divide their lectures between a consideration of the history of the parent-teacher movement here and abroad and the history of the child study and parent education movement, including the child guidance clinic movement; and methods of organizing and sponsoring child study groups.

The second semester will be devoted to a study of current trends in educational psychology and phil-

osophy. It will survey in the light of these trends common methods of parental discipline and guidance, and current school practices, including grading, rating and promoting, individualized teaching, methods of character education proposed and in use, and vocational guidance. Finally it will attempt to evaluate the programs of various agencies which work with both home and school in the interest of the individual child, especially the visiting teacher movement, parent education and child study organizations, and the parent-teacher movement. The course may be credited, in the case of matriculating students, toward graduate and undergraduate degrees.

The Council's fall and winter program, marking the close of five years of service in Philadelphia, will also include a course on the educational, legal and psychological aspects of freedom and discipline. Hughes Mearns, Charles Hoffman and Marion E. Kenworthy will lecture in this series which is expected to attract a large group of parents, teachers, social workers, and others interested in children.

With the distinction of having received last June the first vocational certificate in parent education ever given by the Pennsylvania School for Social and Health Work, Mrs. Meta L. Douglas of Philadelphia joins the staff of Parents' Council of Philadelphia this September. As a professional parent education worker, she will lead child study groups and assist in the Council's research project in group study techniques.

Child Study Activities Throughout Country

Parent education has been an active interest in almost every summer school. With the coming of fall, increased opportunities for the study of this subject are being offered by the universities and the more informal groups all over the country.

Under the management of the Advisory Committee representing the Ontario College of Education, the Faculty of Medicine, and the Department of Psychology, with Helen Bott as chairman, the St. George's School for Child Study has recently been re-organized as a unit within the University of Toronto. The work continues under a grant from the Spelman Fund. Larger quarters have been provided by the University, and these will be ready for occupation in the autumn term.

As a regular feature of the work in parent education, Ohio State Department of Education (cooperating with the Department of Adult Education, Ohio State University) conducts the Parents' Laboratory Pre-School. During the first three weeks of the summer quarter, a demonstration session of the Pre-School was held for the summer school students and for the National Education Association, meeting this year in Columbus.

Requests coming to the Department of Adult Education from cities and parent-teacher councils in Ohio to conduct leadership institutes during this fall will be granted wherever there is a cooperating college or teacher training institution to render local assistance. There is too great a danger that parents' study groups will be organized faster than preparation for their success has been made. In order to provide local supervision the Department is inviting the colleges to cooperate and for that purpose two conferences were held during 1929-30. As a result, some kind of specific service to parents' study groups and for amateur leaders has been inaugurated in at least five colleges which had not previously offered such help. It is hoped that eventually every college in Ohio will employ a specialist in parent education.

A series of leader training institutes was held during the summer at Youngstown, Ohio, by Florence Hornbach, field worker for the division of Parent Education, and sponsored by the Youngstown Council of Parents and Teachers and assisted by the city library. A conference room was provided at the main library, books were displayed, and a complete bibliography of all study materials available at the main and branch libraries was compiled, copies being furnished to forty study group leaders attending the institutes. Youngstown has a most progressive program of parent education entirely under amateur, but excellent, leadership.

At the University of Tennessee a conference on parent education was held from July14 to 18. Garry Cleveland Myers lectured and conducted round table discussions on problems of child training.

During the past year Colorado communities have developed and financed their own mental hygiene clinics at Sterling, Durango and Greeley, where a total of 270 children were examined. The personnel is supplied by the staff of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital. As the educational value of these clinics to parents, teachers and others interested in child welfare is so significant a contribution, a similar mental hygiene service is being planned for all areas in Colorado.

Parents as well as teachers enrolled this year for the course in child training given at Rutgers Summer Session by Edith Dixon. This course, requiring daily observation in the nursery school is intended to help students to a realization of the importance of the preschool years. It is expected that they will promote parent education in their own communities. The Extension program will continue to carry on its experiment in play centers which it has been promoting in Monmouth County in cooperation with the Monmouth County Organization for Social Service.

Summer activities of the child development and parent education division of the Home Economics Extension Service in Illinois have included the con-

tinuation of discussion groups of mothers in Champaign County and the organization of groups in Woodford and McDonough Counties, two of the six new Home Bureau counties in Illinois.

Attendance and interest have been particularly good throughout the summer in the Kane County "prospective leadership" group, which meets at Geneva and enrolls members of the American Association of University Women and of the Parent-Teachers Association as well as Home Bureau members.

A series of lecture-discussions were given by Miss Edna E. Walls, specialist in child care and training from the University of Illinois at the Farmers' Week in Stillwater, Oklahoma. The subjects were "Parenthood—A New Profession," "Nineteen Ways of Being a Good Parent" and "Tomorrow's Parents."

Parent education classes in Nebraska are given a greater emphasis than any other phase of the adult home-making program. In Lincoln and Omaha the local supervisor of adult home-making devotes half of her time to supervision of adult work in the Lincoln schools and the other half to teacher training work in the University of Nebraska. In other towns and cities the work is sponsored by the Parent-Teacher Association or some local leader. There is a cooperative arrangement between the teacher training department of the University of Nebraska and the city schools whereby the senior home economics students receive some training in teaching adult classes.

Florida's adult education program will be along the lines of child welfare and parent education, food and nutrition, clothing for the family, and home management.

Prevention Worth the Cure

In giving a summary in English of his doctor's dissertation, J. C. L. Zuyderhoff, a Dutch student, indicated that the prevention of trouble in a child's life is better than all the repair work which parents or juvenile courts may attempt. A brief description of the main causes of trouble, starting with heredity, was followed by a discussion of the problem of how to get a better generation. The author recommended parent training and a school system that has its aim to make children fit for life, both propositions being based on responsibility and cooperation. The school itself must be as perfect as possible, and has to be provided with a visiting teacher for the guidance of children who need special care.

Something of the same idea was expressed by Dr. Amos O. Squire, who was for twenty-five years physician in Sing Sing prison, when he recently prescribed a greater parental interest in children for reducing crime.

Announcements and Exhibits

A colored vocational guidance unit has been organized in New Orleans recently, under the inspiration of Emma Pritchard Cooley, newly elected president of National Vocational Guidance Association. This is the first of its sort in the United States.

The Honorable William John Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, was the speaker at the corner stone laying of the new building of the National Education Association on July 25. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Association for Childhood Education and other educational organizations will also be quartered in the new building when it is completed next year.

The Second Pan-Pacific Women's Conference was held in Honolulu from August 9 to 23 and was attended by delegates from women's organizations in the United States, South America, Canada, Australia, India, New Zealand, Samoa, the Philippines, China and Japan.

Six-week courses in parent-teacher work have been given this summer under National Office representatives at the University of Washington, Columbia University, Rutgers University, University of California, and Winthrop College, South Carolina.

The new home of the Child Study Association is located at 221 West 57th Street, New York City. Telephone number: Circle 7780.

Exhibits including a variety of literature, charts and other material representative of the work being done by the Child Study Association have been sent during the summer months to the following conferences:

School Wide Conference: Randolph-Macon Womans College, Virginia.

Northfield Conference of Religious Education: Boston.

Fourth Annual Iowa State Conference on Child Development and Parent Education: University of Iowa.

Church-School Exhibit: First Presbyterian Church, New York City.

International Council of Religious Education: Toronto.

Conference for Church Work: Wellesley College.

Teacher Training Course for Graduate Nurses: Penn State College.

Teacher Training Course for Graduate Nurses: Colorado Agricultural College.

American Red Cross Courses for Graduate Nurses: University of California.

Sunday School Conference of the Evangelical Church: North Naperville College, Illinois.

American Red Cross Summer Courses in Home Hygiene and Care of the Sick: Washington, D. C.

Independence Day Congress at Rio de Janeiro: Brazil.

CONFERENCE PERSONALITIES

Floyd H. Allport, Ph.D.
Professor of Social and Political Psychology, School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University.

H. E. Barnard, Ph.D.
Director, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

Mary Shattuck Fisher
Research Associate, Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Mrs. Howard S. Gans
President, Child Study Association of America.

Arnold Gesell, Ph.D.
Director, Yale Psycho-Clinic.

Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg
Director, Child Study Association of America; Lecturer on Parent Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Hornell Hart, Ph.D.
Professor of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College.

Beatrice Hinkle, M.D.
Psychiatrist; Lecturer.

Eduard C. Lindeman
Professor of Social Philosophy, New York School of Social Work; Consulting Director, National Council of Parent Education.

Esther Loring Richards, M.D.
Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University.

William F. Russell, Ph.D.
Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Mandel Sherman, M.D.
Director, Washington Child Research Center, Washington, D. C.

George D. Stoddard, Ph.D.
Director, Child Welfare Research Station, University of Iowa.

Vivian T. Thayer, Ph.D.
Educational Advisor, Ethical Culture School, New York.

Frankwood E. Williams, M.D
Medical Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

John Withers, Ph.D.
Dean, School of Education, New York University.

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of the

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1930

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PROGRAMME

Monday, October 20 — Reception 7:15 P.M.
Dinner 7:30 P.M.

The Family and Fulfillment of Personality

Presiding—Mrs. Howard S. Gans
Chairman—Frankwood E. Williams

Speakers—Hornell Hart, Beatrice Hinkle, H. E. Barnard, Eduard C. Lindeman

Tuesday, October 21 — Afternoon Conference 2:30 P.M.

The Parent and the Changing Scene

Presiding—Mrs. Howard S. Gans
Chairman—John Withers

Speakers—Esther Loring Richards, Vivian T. Thayer, Floyd H. Allport, Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg

Wednesday, October 22 — Morning Conference 10:00 A.M.

New Trends in Child Development Research

Presiding—Mrs. Howard S. Gans
Chairman—William F. Russell

Speakers—Arnold Gesell, Mandel Sherman, George D. Stoddard, Mary Shattuck Fisher

Above meetings to be held in Grand Ball Room

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

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Staff of the Child Study Association

Tuesday, October 21 — Morning Round Table 10 A.M.
Content, Technique and Method of Parent Education

Wednesday, October 22 — Afternoon Round Table 2:30 P.M.
Organization of Parent Education Centers and Groups

Each session will begin promptly at the time designated.

Conference registration: 50c for members.
$1.00 for non-members.

Dinner: $5.00.

In the Magazines

Baltimore Bulletin of Education. May, 1930. Editor John L. Stenquist.

The entire issue is devoted to "Mental Health for School Children," including among its contributors G. E. Partridge, Goodwin Watson, Ralph P. Truitt, J. Wallace Wallin, Nellie W. Birdsong, and Esther Loring Richards.

Family Life and the Fulfillment of Personality. By Hornell Hart. Mental Hygiene, July, 1930.

The writer contrasts puritanical parenthood with the existing revolutionary reaction demonstrated in many family situations. He points out that mere elimination of restraints is failing to produce fulfillment of personality, and suggests an educational formula directed to parents of young children and applicable in the sexual behavior of youth.

Physiological Age and the School. By C. Ward Crampton. Journal of Genetic Psychology, June, 1930.

The writer here re-affirms a recommendation made in the past that the "elementary schools should be reserved for the physiologically immature, and the high schools for the physiologically mature.

Research Projects in Play. Playground and Recreation, August, 1930.

Reports are given from five articles dealing with the subject of play and leisure in relation to school and playgrounds.

What to Expect of a School. By Joseph K. Hart. The Parents' Magazine, September, 1930.

"What the intelligent parent expects of the school" is answered in this article. It must be a place of health, both physical and mental. It must provide opportunity, material and social stimulus to its children to live, act, share and create, and have interests and real emotions and preliminary intellectual processes out of which will eventually come *mind*.

Released by the White House Conference

THERE is already available a considerable and rapidly growing body of knowledge, interpreted and classified by scientist and educator for parents' use. But the first complete classification of such information, gathered through the years by independent groups and individuals, is being made by the eleven hundred experts connected with the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection who have been working at this task for more than a year now. Releases have been sent out from time to time giving the trend of modern thought on child training.

"We have to realize that today parents more and more are dealing with old problems in a totally new setting. The home itself, which in the past was the economic and social center of family living, is, in many cases, coming to be an emotional center only. With the increasing complexity of our coming and going, contacts of parents with each other and parents with their children are fewer and briefer. They have no minutes to spare for blundering and antagonizing for there are fewer minutes in which to correct these blunders and to build for character and mutual regard.

"The growing child needs, if he is to find adjustment to the heterogeneous society in which modern adults live, constant constructive aid from his parents, beginning in the earliest years. Indeed, perhaps our greatest task as parents today is to orient our children in this world as they find it—a new world in which they have few patterns to follow.

"Perhaps the greatest change that has been brought about by the changing social order has been our revised attitude with regard to the perennial problem of 'discipline.' Parents today have a new responsibility concerning the authority they exercise in the home. In former generations the church, the state, and the whole community, all outwardly at least, had one conviction on both vital and trivial questions in human relationships. Life is no longer so simple as that."

Mrs. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg.

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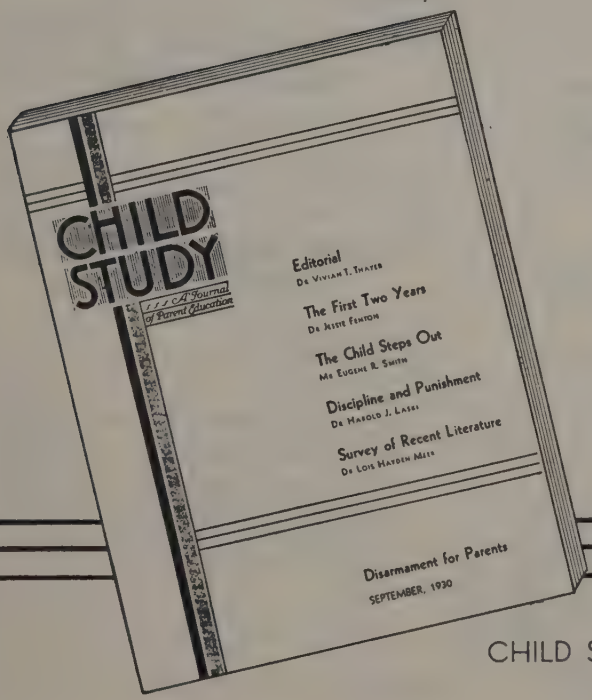
Child Study has always aimed to keep abreast of current thought in the field of child psychology and training—and it has.

In the parent education movement, Child Study has won for itself real recognition. Since its contributors are recognized authorities in their related fields, Child Study has a prestige which places it in a strategic position to offer intelligent leadership to parents, teachers and parent educators.

Each page of the magazine is a challenge to parents, teachers and everyone interested in child guidance and development.

Child Study is a further guide to development in its field through its book reviews, digests of significant articles from other publications, news notes of national and international importance and a department of Parents' Questions and Discussions.



Child Study, besides improving and widening the scope of its editorial content, enlarging its book review section and news notes, takes on a newly designed cover and a complete change in format. It will be published from September through June, beginning with Volume Eight.

The subscription will remain the same,

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SINAIDA HODNITZKAYA..*Soviet Children and Their Schools*
F. B. RIGGS.....*A Plea for International Amity*
Book Reviews — — — — — *News of the Association*

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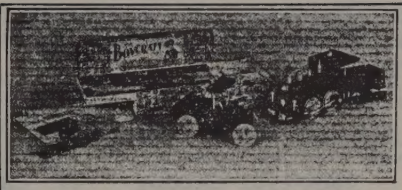

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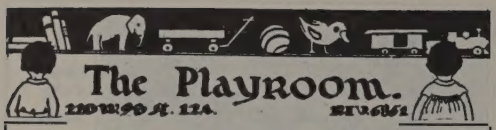

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The Editors' Page

OUR general attitude toward health today is infinitely "healthier" than the various attitudes of the past. Health is recognized at last as possessed of positive attributes rather than indicating merely a negative state, the absence of disease. Thanks to this advance, the ancient ideal of a sound mind in a sound body should come within easier reach today than ever before. Since the turn of the century, medical science has crossed the threshold of a new era. Yesterday's goal was the cure of existing disease; today's is the prevention of possible disease. No wonder that modern youth enters life with a health chance unknown to the youth of former generations.

A LARGE measure of credit for the program of prevention now being inaugurated must be given to those distinguished pioneers, Pasteur, Koch, and others, who in the latter half of the nineteenth century proved the relationship of bacteria to disease. The fruits of their research, coupled with the findings of their successors, have paved the way for the preventive measures which medical science now can offer. Particularly in the field of the infectious diseases of childhood notable results have been obtained. These diseases today are amenable to treatment as they have never been in the past. Many of them may be prevented. And with the perfection of preventive tactics we may look to the day when such diseases will belong entirely to the past.

WITH the advancing knowledge of the methods by which mankind's purely physical well being may be maintained, there has been corresponding progress along the lines of mental hygiene. And here again the child profits. The importance of checking tendencies toward nervous disorders in their early stages is now realized. The lasting effect of early influences begins to receive due consideration. But no program of prevention can be put into effect without the full cooperation of the public. And such cooperation is based upon knowledge of the laws of health.

Stanley Bergman

CHILD STUDY

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EDUCATION
OCTOBER 1930
VOL. VIII
No. 2

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NOVEMBER FORECAST (Religion in the Presentday Home)

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Contents of previous issues of CHILD STUDY *are indexed in "The Education Index."*
CHILD STUDY entered as second class matter March 8. 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1930 by Child Study Association of America, Inc., 21 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. Monthly, September to June.